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CONTENTS

Meetings and Conferences.....	98
Informal Social Control and the Small Community, by George P. Murdock.....	99
Unseen Roots of Community Well-Being	105
How Small Group Discipline May Change Large Communities	107
Eight Women and One Community.....	108
The Values by Which Communities Live: Report on the 1951 Conference on the Small Community	111
Let the Community Do It, by H. Clay Tate.....	114
Discovering and Respecting the Community Personality, by John Given	118
Physician and Community.....	123
"Progress," "Degeneration," or "Transition"? Review of <i>The American Way of Life</i> , by Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi.....	124
Correspondence.....	127

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MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

Sept. 2-4 — Rural Sociological Society, Annual Meeting, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Sept. 5-7 — American Sociological Society, annual meeting, Chicago, Hotel Sheraton.

Sept. 9-13 — International City Managers Assn., Poland Spring, Me. Information from headquarters at 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago 37, Ill.

Oct. 1-5 — National Recreation Congress, Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

Oct. 12-13 — Northeastern Ohio Community Institute, Hiram, Ohio.

Nov. 26-28 — Nat'l Municipal League, Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Nov. 29-Dec. 1 — American Public Wel-

fare Assn., Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C.

The fifth annual session of the Town and Country School for rural ministers, held at Emory University, Atlanta, Aug. 7-23, was devoted to the study of the rural community. About 130 rural ministers were in attendance from all of the Southern states. After a general session each morning the school gathered in ten small groups for discussion. Community Service, Inc., supplied the leadership for the community course. In a later issue of *Community Service News* there will be a summary of what 100 rural ministers from as many rural communities think of the present status of their communities and of their needs and possibilities.

Comments on the May-June Issue

Your June, 1951, issue carries an able, deeply significant, and strong in its potential value to society, article, "The Place of Community among Human Values." You say, in no uncertain language, that "the issues of our times is the struggle between the clearly defined ideology of Soviet totalitarianism against—against what? The world is sick for the lack of an answer."

Any answer which might be acceptable must, very rightly, contain "a common whole of life and reality, one in which all diverse parts, large and small, are related in harmony with discipline and authority." Nothing less can "make all parts sacred to the benefit, instead of the disadvantage, of all other parts of the whole." —William F. Clement, New Orleans.

I read *Community Service News* carefully from cover to cover. I am very enthusiastic about it, but found this particular number, and a previous one of some time ago, particularly pregnant. Of that other one I ordered a number of extra ones which I sent to our workers in India: and of this one I am ordering twenty-five extra copies to send to them again, to send to some people in England, and to send to some members of the American Institute of Architects. I believe it will be of value to all three, because it gives, to me at least, so much of value in what I might call the theory, content and structure of the community. —Albert Mayer, New York.

Just a line of heartiest congratulations on the preeminently excellent statement, "The Place of Community among Human Values." — Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., New York.

INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL AND THE SMALL COMMUNITY¹

as Revealed by the Yale Human Relations Area Files

by GEORGE P. MURDOCK

Interest in the community is diverse. For some it is primarily theoretical, being directed, for example, toward the analysis of the structured relationships of individuals within the community, as into social classes or castes, or into institutions like those of the church, the school, cooperatives, or municipal government. For others the interest takes a practical form; the community is the recognized locus for the implementation of programs of education, public health, nutrition, social work, relief and rehabilitation, agricultural extension work, and the like. Some few may even be responsible for planning the establishment of new communities, as in reclamation and resettlement projects. Whatever these varied interests, however, they all come to a common focus in the structure and functioning of the community. The broader and deeper the scientific knowledge of the community, the better equipped each specialist will be to carry out his own specific task. In this paper, consequently the problem of the community will be approached from the broadest possible comparative or cross-cultural point of view.

The first point to be noted is that the local community is a universal social group. It shares with the nuclear or biological family—and with it alone—the distinction of being present and functionally significant in every one of the thousands of societies known to ethnography and history, from the simplest primitive cultures to the most complex modern civilizations. Specialists interested in public schools or cooperatives—even those concerned with the courts or the church—are dealing with historically limited or culture-bound phenomena which can be comprehended in their restricted local settings. But those who are concerned with the community must grapple with a common human phenomenon, for which local or regional explanations are insufficient. If their interest is genuinely scientific, it must have a strong comparative component. They are compelled to view their subject from a universal or cross-cultural point of view. They cannot remain indifferent to the experience of other peoples with community life, even those whose conditions are wholly unlike our own. This might be possible if they were concerned exclusively with static conditions, with preserving the status quo intact. But to the extent that they are interested in ameliorating or improving

¹Reprinted by permission from "Feasibility and Implementation of Comparative Community Research," in the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15, No. 6, pp. 713-720 (December, 1950).

community life, with building creatively toward the future, to just that extent they are logically driven to an orientation in terms of mankind's total experience.

This is an enormous task. Contrast, for example, that of the political scientist, who could cover his field adequately by studying a few hundred political systems. Even the anthropologist, who studies the whole cultures borne by groups which we call "nations" or "tribes," has only a few thousand societies to cover. But there are literally hundreds of thousands of communities in the world. How can the conscientious sociologist acquire a sufficiently extensive knowledge of their structure and functioning to orient himself adequately for his own special research? . . . It will be advisable to subject the community to some preliminary analysis and to point out some of the hitherto unrealized scientific potentialities of its comparative sociological study.

The community has been defined² as "the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association." It is always a local group, founded on residential propinquity, and whatever additional bonds of kinship, economic cooperation, or political organization may in individual instances intensify its unity. Even at its minimum size it always includes a number of families, for nowhere on earth do individual families live in isolation. It is always a peace group, characterized by internal order, social solidarity, and a common culture. It is the group within which individuals normally experience most of their more meaningful social satisfactions.

In form, the community varies with the type of basic economy. Where hunting, gathering, or pastoral activities provide the principal means of subsistence it tends to be composed of a group of families who move and camp together and constitute a migratory band. Where livelihood depends largely on fishing or agriculture the local group tends to settle in a permanent village located at a convenient site adjacent to the best fishing grounds or agricultural land. Under exceptional conditions of peace, the population may spread out over the exploited territory in isolated farmsteads near each family's land holdings; constituting a scattered neighborhood rather than a concentrated village.

In a comparative study undertaken at the suggestion of Professor W. F. Ogburn some years ago, Goodenough³ demonstrated that the average population of a community ranges from approximately 50 in societies organized in migratory bands to about 300 in those with settled agricultural villages. He also showed that it rarely exceeds 1,000 or 1,200, even in individual

²G. P. Murdock, C. S. Ford, A. E. Hudson, R. Kennedy, L. W. Simmons, and J. W. M. Whiting, "Outline of Cultural Materials," *Yale Anthropological Studies*, 2 (1945), 29.

³W. H. Goodenough, "Basic Economy and the Community" (unpublished, 1941).

instances, in the absence of complicating factors. This appears to be about the maximal number of people who can maintain regular face-to-face relationships with one another.

Other evidence reveals that local aggregations of population exceeding this maximum of 1,000 or 1,200 appear only when one or more of three special conditions are present, namely (1) intensive irrigated agriculture under particularly favorable circumstances of climate, topography, and soil, (2) commerce or trade on a substantial scale, and (3) extensive industrial specialization. It is improbable that any one of these conditions was met anywhere in the world until perhaps 10,000 years ago. Since then the large town and the city have become increasingly widespread phenomena. These have tended to obscure the peculiar sociological characteristics of the small local community, and the resulting confusion has been enhanced by extending the term "community" to such larger urban aggregations. Sociological analysis can advance only if we segregate towns and cities as a fundamentally distinct category from the universal phenomenon of the small local community with its maximal population of not much more than a thousand.

The most significant fact about the community as thus defined and restricted is that it is the group within which informal mechanisms of social control operate with genuine effectiveness. Whether in a band of Australian aborigines or in a rural settlement in our own society, the behavior of every individual is restrained and molded primarily by the opinions and reactions of those with whom he maintains daily face-to-face relations. It is upon them that he depends for all major social satisfactions, and the withdrawal of these, or its threat, constitutes the most effective of all sanctions. Praise and reciprocal response are the rewards for conformity to social expectations. Criticism, ridicule, gossip, withdrawal of reciprocity, and even social ostracism are the penalties for non-conformity. The pressure of public opinion and of these informal mechanisms of social control may be regarded as socially beneficial or as tyrannical, depending upon one's personal philosophy, but their effectiveness in a community situation cannot be denied or minimized.

When, in consequence of Neolithic technological and economic advances, human beings found themselves for the first time living in local aggregations of appreciably more than a thousand people, they discovered that informal mechanisms of control no longer sufficed to maintain social order. Face-to-face relationships could not now be maintained with everyone, and tended to be limited to smaller groups of relatives or close neighbors. Individual deviants were presented for the first time with an alternative to conformity. They could sever old relationships and cultivate new ones among persons ignorant or tolerant of their lapses. Thus was born the possibility of escape from the "tyranny" of social control which is exemplified at its maximum

today in the anonymity of the individual in a large city. The resulting social disorganization and trial-and-error attempts to cope with it are admirably illustrated in the reports by Barton⁴ on the Ifugao and Kalinga tribes of northern Luzon, peoples who have achieved extraordinarily efficient methods of irrigation and large local concentrations of population without developing forms of political integration competent to supplement the older informal mechanisms of social control.

The commonest solution to this problem, achieved independently in many places and at many different times in the last 10,000 years of man's culture history, is the formation of a state, that is, of government or political institutions in the strict sense. A special organization is set up to which is delegated the authority and power to supplement informal social control with physical force. The Arapaho, Cheyenne, and other Plains Indian tribes provide an excellent example. Throughout most of the year they migrated over the plains after buffalo in small bands which were genuine communities and as such functioned quite satisfactorily without formal political or legal institutions. For several weeks each summer, however, all the bands of the tribe assembled at one spot for their annual sun dance and communal hunt. On these occasions it became extremely important to prevent private parties from going out to hunt on their own, because this might easily scare the buffalo herd entirely away from the vicinity. So the tribes of the Great Plains delegated police powers for this period to a particular military society, which had the duty and power to punish any unauthorized hunting party by killing their horses, destroying their tepees, and even if necessary administering capital punishment.

The same problem arose in another form just before the dawn of history in the fertile valleys of the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, and Indus Rivers in the Old World and in comparable regions like Mexico and Peru in the New World. Here local aggregations of people assembled in numbers greatly in excess of 1,000. Mutually dependent for their livelihood upon a common source of irrigation, they found it necessary to delegate authority to specific organs to regulate the distribution of water and enforce these regulations. Out of such beginnings grew city states and eventually great empires. At least as commonly, of course, government has originated through conquest and the subordination of the defeated to the victors. In all cases, however, the result is the same. A particular organization is given or seizes power to enforce its will over the rest. Informal mechanisms of social control are supplemented or supplanted by organized force as a means of maintaining

⁴R. F. Barton, "Ifugao Law," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 15 (1919), 1-186; *The Kalingas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

social order. Government appears where there has been no true political organization before.

Modern societies have become so inured to government that many people seem to regard it as the only mechanism for maintaining social order. Whenever there appears to be a need for regulation their first thought is "to pass a law." Our own society's experience with Prohibition should be sufficient to demonstrate, however, that in many areas of behavior the age-old informal mechanisms of social control are still immeasurably more efficient and satisfactory than politically organized force. The Communist movement of today is probably the most glaring instance of a widespread willingness to subordinate morality and public opinion completely to the cynical exercise of manipulated force.

The sociologist will do well to remember that for 99 per cent of the approximately one million years that man has inhabited this earth he lived, thrived, and developed without any true government whatsoever, and that as late as one hundred years ago half the peoples of the world—not half the population but half the tribes or nations—still ordered their lives exclusively through informal controls without benefit of political institutions. He should also recognize that political control has one fundamental weakness which man has tried for a hundred centuries to master or correct—with only partial success.

This weakness is the fact that the possession of power inevitably engenders a tendency to employ it for selfish ends, for exploitation rather than service. The holders of political authority, however well intentioned, are removed to some extent from the direct influence of public opinion. They are not, of course, unresponsive to social control, but the controls they respond to are primarily those of their own kind—other office-holders or the particular group to whom they owe their position. A gap opens between rulers and the mass of the governed, and widens with time. Popular needs are neglected. Frustrations accumulate which are only too often met by repressive measures rather than adaptive ones. Eventually there comes an explosion, perhaps a *coup d'état* or perhaps a major revolution, which institutes a change in the ruling personnel. With this the whole process starts all over again. It is for this reason that political history exhibits such a cyclic character, marked by the rise and fall of dynasties, by alternating conquest and subjugation, by the emergence and liquidation of dominant social classes, by the succession of irreconcilable political philosophies. The spectacular fluctuations in political evolution contrast strikingly with the massive, orderly, progressive processes of change which characterize nearly every other aspect of human culture.

Political democracy strikes me as the cultural invention which comes closest to a solution of this, the toughest problem with which mankind has

coped for the last 10,000 years. By providing a means whereby shifting trends in mass needs and public opinion can periodically accomplish changes in governing personnel without resort to revolution, it offers at least a possibility that political evolution can be brought into conformity with the orderly, progressive gradualism by which other aspects of culture change over time. The successful operation of political democracy, however, requires minimal exercise of coercive means and maximal utilization of persuasion and reward. In other words, it involves reintroduction into the regulative system, at a higher level, of those automatic processes for the governing of social behavior which worked so well for so long within the autonomous local community and broke down only when cultural evolution produced larger social aggregates.

If this analysis is correct, the scientific study of informal social control, of the processes of interpersonal interaction in society by which conformity is achieved and collective goals are accepted without the invocation of coercive force, is one of the most important fields of investigation in the entire realm of the social sciences. Perhaps it is even the most important of all.

IF I HAD A MILLION POUNDS

I would buy me a perfect island home,
Sweet set in a southern sea,
And there would I build me a paradise
For the heart o' my Love and me.

I would plant me a perfect garden there,
The one that my dream soul knows,
And the years would flow as the petals grow,
That flame to a perfect rose.

I would build me a perfect temple there,
A shrine where my Christ might dwell,
And then would I wake to behold my soul
Damned deep in a perfect Hell.

—From "Unutterable Beauty," by G. A. Studdert Kennedy;
used by permission of Harper & Brothers.

UNSEEN ROOTS OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING

Today concern for the needs of the community is almost entirely limited to community organization. The aim is to awaken people in the community to the interest of the community as a whole, to develop good leadership and to organize all the diverse groups in the community into a more or less harmonious and cooperative relationship.

This aim is good, but it is only a small part of a balanced and whole emphasis. It is too largely limited to what at best is but a superficial product of underlying developments.

For example, Jean and Jess Ogden tried to explain why Carroll County, Georgia, was so successful in its community organization work whereas most other similar enterprises had largely failed. The quality of professional leadership brought into the county by West Georgia State College was excellent, but the Carroll County Service Council did not seem to depend so largely on the temporary help of the college's foundation-financed community program. The Ogdens came to believe that much of the success of Carroll County was derived from a long history of progressiveness and self-respect of the people who had settled that area on small farms free from the plantation and slavery system of the South. The college itself had been a creation of progressive citizens; consequently competent community workers could be at home and work effectively in this community.

The community organization worker aims to help the community to help itself. He is helpless if the community has not in it the will or culture necessary to help itself. Thus it is ultimately the people that must help themselves. How do they do it?

Those rare occasions when a community as a whole wakes up and organizes are far from being the most important occasions in the life of the community. When frequent, such occasions can be like empty revival meetings in which habitual sinners go on periodic sprees of feeling saved. What really counts in the community is the enduring day-by-day life within it that carries on progressively from year to year and from generation to generation. Its roots are deep and must be protected from superficial and transitory enthusiasms, drives, campaigns and the will of public and private organizations to bend them to outside purposes. At the same time this underlying life of the community must respond to the world, must feed itself upon what is good and new and valuable in the world about it, must avoid isolation, and must avail itself of real resources.

How does this inward being of the community live, how is it initiated, and how can a better underlying culture supersede a dead and inadequate one? In answer to these questions we have very little established knowledge,

and probably must wait decades or longer before we have anything like adequate understanding. But from observation of successful communities we may make some tentative suggestions.

We are pretty sure that a basic aspect of the life of a community, and in the case of cooperative communities the most important influence for survival, is the orientation people conceive and work out in their lives between themselves and their fellow men, their community, and reality in general. This is a matter of imagination and conception, the underlying pattern that forms personality and conduct.

This underlying pattern that forms our lives is not just an individual matter of each person working out in theory his personal philosophy. It is a collective enterprise since one's personal philosophy is only worked out in practice, and that involves deep commitment to action with consequent relationships with other people's philosophies and patterns of action. If there is to be any coherence, any continuity, any order and progressive development beyond the inchoate mass culture of our civilization, a way of life must develop through individuals and families affiliating with each other in their distinctive philosophy and practice, seeking to transcend what is petty and divisive in their culture, and reinforcing their own way of life and culture amidst the world. Such is the practice of the French communities of work, as it is of many religious associations like the early Society of Friends, Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, socialists in the trade union movement, and many others.

The community generally includes many smaller groups working together with their different emphases and concerns. One or a few groups may set the dominant philosophy or way of life of the community while other groups bring in other elements that contribute to the whole. Sometimes a group is so strong and adequate in its culture that it grows to be the whole community and spreads to wider reaches, even to dominate a nation. But its source is intimate.

This work of progressively working out life philosophy in community association, bringing all aspects of life under the control of sound design and broad purpose, is an essential of life. The philosopher who does not have this experience has not learned to live; the workman or businessman who is part of no mutual endeavor to work out a joint destiny within a free primary group is a lost, self-centered person. The sociologist, social worker, educator or preacher who is professionally occupied with leading, directing, or teaching others without himself sharing in the mutual endeavor is a blind person leading the blind.

This does not mean that we must forego solitude and personal endeavor or that all aspects of life should be functions of committees or groups. One of the most important characteristics of sound community life is that in-

dividuals can be trusted to carry responsibility without abuse of power, constant oversight, suspicion, jealousy or seeking power for selfish ends. The superior community is the source of such freedom from overorganization and inhibition of healthy individuality.

HOW SMALL GROUP DISCIPLINE MAY CHANGE LARGE COMMUNITIES

A remarkable thing about the French "communities of work," as reported in Claire Bishop's *All Things Common*, is the way in which the Boimondau community, and others like it, is able to unite in harmony its membership of nearly three hundred people. In 1949, of 155 working members of the community, 41 were Roman Catholics, 11 were Protestants, 46 were "materialists"—including communists—and 47 were "humanists." This harmony was achieved partly because the community had, from the spiritual insight of its leader and even more from the common experience, developed a clearly defined common ethical standard to which all would unreservedly commit themselves in their day-by-day living.

One of the ways in which their success was achieved was to require that each member actively work out and study to develop a way of life according to his best lights within a like-minded group—the Christians with Christians, the humanists and materialists likewise. In this way the underlying common elements of group life could be realized by all.

Such a sincere desire to actually live by the highest principles known to us is potential in all men, and springs to life in response to a wide variety of stimuli. Seldom has a more profound spiritual change taken place with more far-reaching practical results than that which, two centuries before Christ, accompanied the conversion of the warlike King Asoka to the Buddhist religion of love and peace. The remarkable spiritual transformation of some individuals who worked close to Gandhi is another illustration of the influence of deep spiritual commitment and "consecration." Yet Gandhi held that the claim of orthodox Christianity to be the only true faith is the chief obstacle to world peace.

It is common for devout people of any religion to look upon the particular doctrine and faith of that religion as the source of its aspiration and spiritual commitment. To one who does not share that creed this identification of aspiration and creed may tend to discredit the reality of the experience being described. This is unfortunate, for nothing is so effective in actually changing the quality of human life as the sincere commitment or "consecration" of individuals or groups to the best they know. Intellectual

convincement has little effect on the quality of living until it is made potent by a spirit of commitment.

We reprint from a religious publication* ■ story of how a disciplined small group of Protestant Christians, following their highest light, carried out ■ significant program of community betterment in a Southern town.

To omit or delete the evangelical language of this account would spoil its quality, though that language may tend to obscure the fact that deep and sincere commitment is powerful to change human quality though associated with ■ great range of beliefs, or with absence of formal doctrine. We should come to realize that such commitment is of the essence of the refinement of human purpose and action. In a succeeding issue we will reprint another account from the same publication, telling how such commitment worked in a small business.

—ARTHUR E. MORGAN

EIGHT WOMEN AND ONE COMMUNITY

*The practical results in community life of a women's cell
which has been meeting regularly in ■ southern city.*

We began meeting together for prayer three years ago. Eight ordinary women (in the beginning we were only five) in an ordinary town. From an outsider's point of view what happened seemed to come easily and simply, but it was all the result of hours and days and months spent together in prayer and fellowship until we came to the point where we pooled our resources and learned to work as a unit.

In the beginning if anyone had a "concern" about a matter or about helping another person, we said, "Go ahead and we will stand behind you in prayer." But as we grew into a unit we learned that if one of us had a concern, it was not hers alone, but each could *do* something as well as *pray* something. We learned this second thing through experience in doing.

One of our projects was interracial. It was Mrs. B— who had a strong feeling that the situation in our town between the Negroes and the white people was not Christian and that we should do something about it. She felt that God had laid this on her heart. We began praying about it and asking for guidance as to what to do.

It was a difficult situation, and some of us wondered whether God really wanted us to get tangled up in the "race problem." I was frankly skeptical about whether we could do anything at all. In other things I had been courageous, but here all sorts of reasons why we could not accomplish anything came to mind. Eight women tackling ■ problem that everyone else was afraid of! Eight women trying to change the mode of thinking of a

**Creating Christian Cells*, John S. Beck, Irving Harris, and S. M. Shoemaker, editors; 94 pages, 35¢, from *The Evangel*, 61 Gramercy Park, New York 10, N.Y.

whole community! Only eight women! It seemed impossible. Whatever we tried promised us unpopularity and unpleasantness with our neighbors. Was it worth it?

But our friend felt very strongly that such a project should be a product of Christianity. Only in this way could it be demonstrated to the colored neighbors in our community and all over the world that Christianity works, that democracy, the product of Christianity, works when we put God first.

In theory all of us were in full accord, but it was difficult to bring ourselves to the point of putting theory into painful practice. Our friend Mrs. B— was so full of her "concern" that we finally fell into line, carried along by her faith and her confidence that she was right. And when we were ready, and each of us had given our will about the matter to God, just like the parts of a coordinated and healthy body—the brain, arms, legs, hands, and feet working together—we found ourselves individually useful, not pushing, nor anxious, but waiting expectantly to find where God wanted us to fit into the plan.

We decided first to have a meeting of women from various churches to consider and pray about this project. Then we made the momentous decision, momentous in our part of the country, to ask Negro women from the different Negro churches to join us. We all prayed through that time. On the appointed day the meeting was held, and you should have seen the happy faces and heard the enthusiastic words that resulted. That interracial meeting, without segregation and without prejudice, with Christ as its center, and prayer its foundation, was a complete success.

And that was only the beginning. The Negro women's church organizations now meet with the white women's council; they will join together in my own annual School of Prayer and there are endless possibilities as to what will come of some prayer fellowships that are being started in the different churches. If we can get into each church, both Negro and white, a real praying, living, vital group, more things will be done than we can dream of. We don't have to advertise. We don't have to publicize. We just have to get together quietly.

In our town we had also been troubled about a growing antisemitic feeling, and it seemed to me that God had put it on my heart and mind to do something about this. I brought the matter to the others and we prayed together with one mind. You know the Lord says, "If any two of you agree." And the idea that came to us was this: two of us should go to the Rabbi of the Synagogue and ask him if he would give some talks to a group of women from the churches on the background of Jewish life—the religious customs, the home environment, the appearance and ritual of the synagogues that were prevalent in the time of Jesus, so that we might know and feel the life of Jesus more fully and completely.

At every step we felt we were being led. Two members of our group made an appointment with the Rabbi. We called on him and stated our request. His face glowed with pleasure. He replied, "This is what I have been praying for." Unhesitatingly he accepted, and in the ensuing conversation he spoke of Jesus with reverence, and showed a close familiarity with the details of the New Testament.

One of the members offered her home for the classes. Another called on women to invite them to come. The classes were crowded. As the Rabbi felt the fellowship of the members, he responded to God's power in his own life, and one result was that he arranged for inter-faith meetings in the Temple. Protestant ministers aided the Rabbi in this program, and as in two meetings already held, an unusual feeling of warm friendliness was apparent among all the people. Both Jews and Gentiles filled the building.

By following inner guidance more mysterious than we can understand or explain, we have seen God at work. But these are only the beginnings of what He has done and can do.

In these few years we have learned: (1) That a fellowship of thoroughly consecrated people, not more than ten in number, can, through prayer, pool their resources and be welded together so securely that they function as a unit. (2) That God has to begin with each individual. The individual is made over and each one becomes identified with the other. (3) That with such a group for Him to work through, He can bring His message to a community in a way that one does not dream can happen. (4) That the projects which normally we hesitate even to begin, move along to successful completion, and we were practically unconscious of being used in the process until the results appear.

I believe one of the things that made our prayer fellowship so successful was this—we took it as a supreme interest in our lives. We learned never to make any other conflicting engagement. Some did at first. But they came to see that everything else had to be secondary. Now after three years our group is a *must*.

There are plenty of women who will set apart an afternoon a week for bridge and play hard to bring home a prize. In our prayer fellowship we also set aside one afternoon a week—and the prize we bring home is a changed community!

Three pacifist families are beginning a small cooperative group on a farm at Canterbury, N.H., twelve miles north of Concord. Two of the men are dairy farmers, one is a carpenter. Others interested in joining such a group are invited to visit or correspond. David Curtis, Bill and Mildred Meeh, Don and Lois Booth, R.D. #9, Canterbury, N.H.

"THE VALUES BY WHICH COMMUNITIES LIVE"

REPORT ON THE 1951 CONFERENCE ON THE SMALL COMMUNITY

The Eighth Annual Conference on the Small Community, held early this summer, wound up as one of the most successful and smooth-running Community Service has held. The most valuable aspect of the conference came from informal participation and consultation among all the members.

In large degree the conference fulfilled its purpose, which was a difficult one. It took courage to undertake this intangible, elusive subject of the values by which communities live. The aim was fulfilled by an excellent conference membership and a group of leaders who mastered the task of making the subject of values clear, down-to-earth, and at the same time inspiring. Yet, the conference was but a part of a continuing process, a stimulus from which we hope much may develop through the lives of each member and collectively through the community movement throughout the world.

About sixty people were in full-time attendance. In addition to those mentioned in the summary, the following names will indicate the range of backgrounds. There were five from abroad—two from Germany, and Mr. and Mrs. Aage R. Nielsen, conference leaders, from the Experimental Group in the Danish Folkschool Movement; Max Wolff, U.S. citizen formerly from Germany and France and now on the staff of the Bureau of Adult Education, Columbia University, was one of the leaders; and from Holland was Ies Spetter, recent immigrant to the U.S., a leading Dutch journalist whose capable reporting of conference talks was used by newspapers. From Canada (Ontario) were Rev. A. B. Cathcart of Midland, Alan Barron of Brantford, and Clare Burt of Brampton, of the Ontario Farm Radio Forum, newly elected Community Service trustee. Several ministers and rural church workers attended, and five farmers—from Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Yellow Springs. Seven businessmen were present, and teachers and sociologists included Paul Oren, Jr., Kent State University, Ohio; Aaron H. Rapking, Hiwassee College; Wm. McKinley Robinson, Kalamazoo; Irwin Sanders, University of Kentucky, and J. P. Schmidt, Ohio Extension Service, Community Service board members; and Esther Vreeland, Denison University. We are indebted to Ies Spetter for the following brief review of the conference.

The theme of the conference was introduced by Arthur Morgan in the opening address on Sunday evening, July 4. Pointing out that the changes in human society in the last century may be the greatest that have ever taken place, Mr. Morgan raised the question whether further changes must be made blindly and chaotically, or whether they can be guided.

Some hundred years ago 99% of the world's population still lived in small communities, and as late as 50 years ago 95% still did. Today two thirds of our nation's population lives in urban or suburban communities. And with ever lower birth rates this population moves toward extinction of its physical existence, Mr. Morgan continued, for recent research has shown us that few urban families continue for more than four or five generations. In history city-societies have seldom survived—the Roman, the Greek, the Arabian and Mesopotamian societies are examples.

We must find out what major needs play a role in the maintenance of a community, Mr. Morgan concluded. If we have found this we will be able to set a pattern for society. This is necessary because our world asks with great urgency for a new way of living together. Without that our civilization can disappear even without our knowing why.

Monday morning's session was begun by Griscom Morgan with exploration of "The Values That Make Civilizations Live." He stressed the fact that in the coming years a way must be found by which the tension between the values of individualism and the values of community can be made to disappear. Individualism should no longer stand opposed to the life of the community; common values must be recognized within which all of mankind, both individuals and such groups as communities and nations, may have harmony. Such transcendent values are necessary to achieve a sound relationship between the modern recognition that the individual is a sacred value and the newer recognition that the community too is an end and not merely a means to individual fulfillment.

After a lively discussion the conference split up into working groups in which the subject of the conference was broken down into "human relations and the community," "religious associations and the community," "education," "community service and action," and "intentional community living."

On Monday evening J. Carson Pritchard, professor of religion at West Georgia College, spoke on "Notes Toward a Theology of Community." He told how Christianity abandoned the gospel as it relates to community, and only some people like Albert Schweitzer stayed with it. Such a man, however, has been called a "Christian revolutionary," even though he did nothing other than what he felt to be his natural task as a Christian.

Mr. Pritchard illustrated his views from his experience in the Carroll County Service Council, and concluded with the observation that a church must be small enough to remain personal and intimate, and not so large as to become artificial. The problem arises from our having abandoned the social gospel—now the gospel has abandoned society. Churches must, therefore, lead by becoming themselves communities again.

John Given, of the University of Kentucky's Bureau of Community

Service, addressed the conference Tuesday morning. A community has a personality of its own in the same way as an individual has, he pointed out. If we neglect this personality we will never be able to penetrate to the roots of a living group. His talk appears elsewhere in this issue of *Community Service News*.

Robert D. Morris, chaplain of the Episcopal Hospital in Philadelphia and consultant for the Joint Committee on Marriage of the Department of Christian Social Relations, spoke to the group Tuesday afternoon. Our society is very much concerned if sickness has arrived, he said, but no one concerns himself with the problem of the healthy life. The strains of our society often nearly ruin healthy people, and afterwards we build fine hospitals to cure them. Mr. Morris showed the pictures he took at the Peckham Center in London, where he had lived for some time in 1948. There he saw how a center of recreation, health, study and rest was created for the purpose of stimulating better family and community life.

H. Clay Tate, editor of the Bloomington, Illinois, *Daily Pantagraph*, spoke Tuesday evening of his experiences in stimulating a regional movement of community improvement. His address is printed in this issue of *Community Service News*.

Wednesday morning's session was devoted to the subject of "Intentional Community Living"—designing our lives individually and in groups to achieve the fullest and best development of community relationship. Jack McLanahan's concluding address was an inspiring climax to the conference. McLanahan, leading figure in the American cooperative movement, told of his participation in an intentional community development near Detroit. His experience in the cooperative and labor movements forced him to the conviction that individuals and society as a whole require individual commitment and small community affiliation in a high order of purpose and values. His address may be published in a subsequent issue of *C.S. News*.

The conference closed Wednesday afternoon with summary reports from committees, and an evaluation session to discuss the results of four days' work.

Following the Small Community Conference, representatives from experimental and cooperative communities, and others interested in intentional community living, met for two days to work out organization for the new Inter-Community Exchange. Plans were made for a winter conference in the East.

Cooperative communities and other groups working in intimate endeavor toward sound and well-rounded community life need intercommunication, a chance to talk over common problems, and joint action in marketing, purchasing, education, finance and other areas of common interest. The previous year's conference had given rise to some cooperative activity;

increasing development of widespread association and mutual aid is anticipated. Representatives were present from Cooperative Homesteads, Inc., Michigan; Tanguy Homesteads, Penna.; Macedonia Community; and members of other smaller and less formal groups. Other communities that could not attend sent greetings. A fuller report is available from Jim Brown, Box 223, Ellettsville, Ind.

LET THE COMMUNITY DO IT*

by H. CLAY TATE

Editor, *The Daily Pantagraph*, Bloomington, Illinois

Americans, by tradition, have run away from problems. Our forefathers ran away from problems to settle this country. Their offspring ran away from problems to cross the mountains and the prairies and the desert clear to the Pacific Ocean. Now that we have settled the physical frontiers of the country we are continuing to run away from problems by taking those problems to the state and federal governments for solution rather than solving them ourselves. Even some of us who are interested in community are continuing to run away from our problems at home by taking the romantic turn to go somewhere else to try to solve somebody else's problems.

I come from a rich agricultural area where the process of centralization is going on at a rapid rate. The farms are getting larger and larger, and the opportunities for young people are getting fewer and fewer. As a result, 50% or more of our young people from the farms, and nearly all of them from the small towns, are having to go to the cities to find employment if they find it at all. Our great crop of young people is our most plentiful surplus, and we are now being subjected to one of the greatest experiences of human erosion in the history of our entire era.

In the last ten or fifteen years I have become quite familiar with that territory. At the end of the depression I saw buildings boarded up and most of the people in those communities on relief. Then the war came along and I saw them in a period of artificial prosperity brought on as the result of world-wide conflict. It was during that period of prosperity that it seemed to me the opportunity existed to tackle the ills of those communities that had been existing for a great many years and that had not been solved, at a time when they had the resources and the energy, possibly, to start solving them. My opportunity came about almost by accident.

I was called one night to be a speaker at a Kiwanis Club in an adjoining town, after their original speaker had told them he couldn't be there, and hurriedly I had to think up something to say. I got the census reports out

*Address at the Eighth Annual Conference on the Small Community, Yellow Springs, Ohio, July, 1951.

of my files, and I checked up on this town and on a number of other towns in our vicinity, and discovered that they had had virtually no increase in population, and in most places a decrease in population, since the turn of the century. From some other data I discovered that they had a very high percentage of older people. I discovered that most of their young people, after graduating from high school, had to leave the community.

I told about this in a very informal way and suggested that people begin to do something about it, if they wanted to retain liberty, and freedom, and a good life in this country. Because, I said, it matters not whether we have fascism, communism, or complete governmental bureaucracy, centralization inevitably leads to complete loss of liberty and eventually to the loss of vitality of a people as a whole. If you want to fight this great trend toward loss of liberty, toward loss of the life you like, you've got to begin right here at home and start doing something about it.

We carried a little story about that talk in the newspaper, and other people in other communities wanted me to talk to them about it. It was then that I got the idea that the time was ripe actually to do something about it, and I went over to talk to the people of the University of Illinois to see if we could work up a team whereby we might analyze this situation and see if these communities could objectively approach the problem to adjust themselves to the modern day.

We had to develop a program largely of our own. We found several programs where they took the chamber of commerce approach. We found several others where they took what some people call the "do-gooders" approach. We saw others where they took the civic approach, where they wanted to build a new city hall, or pave the streets. But in none did we find an attempt made to lift the whole level of the community up together.

So we tried to devise a program that would give opportunity to do that. We had one phase which we called the economic phase, another which we called the social-cultural, another which we called the civic. Then we had to select communities to cooperate in this experiment. We decided to take five pilot towns of different population, of different sizes, and we selected five towns after they had invited us to come in. We told them plainly that we were not going to do anything *for* them.

We realized that a community cannot build better than it knows, you cannot build a better house than the plan from which it is built, and unless the plan is designed by a competent architect you are not likely to have as good a house as you might otherwise have. So a little pamphlet setting up some of the yardsticks by which a community can be measured was compiled by the people at the University of Illinois. We published it and it was sent, along with a questionnaire, to various families in the communities, in some cases to every family, and in some cases to a spot-check group of

families. They were asked to read the pamphlet and then to list on this question form, in their own words, the facilities and services in these three fields—economic, social-cultural and civic—that their community had which they thought were adequate, and then to list those facilities and services which they felt the community ought to have and could support. They did not have to sign their names. These questionnaires were returned and tabulated. Ninety per cent of the questionnaires came from people who had lived in the communities ten years or longer and who owned homes in those communities. Many of the people who were newer in the communities did not return the questionnaire, which was entirely voluntary.

We suggested that the communities set up some voice that could speak for the entire community. We found that in no case was there an organization or a group that could speak for the entire community. So community councils were formed and committees were set up to study the economic, civic and social-cultural suggestions made and to report back to the council recommendations on those projects which they felt were needed, and which they thought might be brought to completion. If the council approved them the various existing organizations of the community were then brought into play.

It was surprising to me that the suggestions made by these citizens on what they thought their communities needed were not in most cases the suggestions that had been made by the so-called community leaders. The community leaders were thinking, I think in reality, possibly unconsciously, of monuments that they might build to themselves in the form of a city hall or lighting system, a great recreational park, or some such thing as that, possibly with their name on the stone at the entrance. But these people came up with suggestions like this: We need a decent, clean public rest room in town where the people who come to shop can send their families to wait while they're doing their shopping, and where they can visit in comfort and have a pleasant time. That was number one in all five towns, and there was no predetermination of that; it just came up in that questionnaire.

They said, we have too many Protestant churches and they ought to be combined. In one town the laymen of five Protestant churches have been meeting now for more than two years with ministers excluded, to talk about the problems of merging those churches. They haven't got there yet; they've had people in from various parts of the country to tell them about the affiliated mergers of various kinds. They're attacking that problem.

As would be expected, before any committee had to do anything, things began to happen. The merchants began to improve their stores. They began to put in a better line of merchandise. The people began to clean up the place, and a feeling of pride started to develop. There must be pride in the community before you can have complete communities. Since that time these

communities have done a great many things. They have improved their library service; they have set up tax-supported recreation programs, they have set up a tax-supported garbage collection system, they have got mail delivery in the towns, each of them has improved its school system, they have paved their streets, they have added housing subdivisions, and they have done numerous other things.

I might add that they have done it all out of the genius and energy of the community. Not a single dollar has been contributed from the outside. Not a single law has been passed by any legislative body to enable them to do anything. Not even any money was borrowed from the outside. It has been done by the people themselves because they thought it was the thing to do. Not a single prize has been offered. It seems to me that what these communities can do of value, of lasting value, must be done because they want to do it and not because somebody is giving them a reward for doing it.

Virtually every suggestion these communities made was based on the moral values that are set up by the church. I would like to say that religion, in my opinion, completely dominates the scene in the U.S. and that it has a much stronger hold on the American people than communism has on the Russian people. So let's don't sell religion short; let's continue to criticize it. Let's continue to refine it. It's the strongest foundation that we have in this country at the present time.

Along with this program in the communities, the newspaper did play a part. So far as we know, it's the first time that the daily newspaper, which, in one sense of the word at least, is the textbook for the adult community, and the state university cooperated in a new type of adult education. We ran as many news stories as were produced by these communities, trying to tell what they were doing. We took every opportunity to cite editorially the good examples being set by the communities and the accomplishments they were making. Since this project began some five years ago, we have run more than 300 editorials, pointing out the good things that these communities were doing and suggesting that other communities in the area could do as well.

It was the power of example that kept spreading this thing out. The boys who handle the copy, that comes in from the 150 communities that we cover, tell me that this is the sort of pattern that took place: Roanoke, which is one of these pilot communities, would take up the issue, for instance, of a rural fire district. Within the next month fifteen or twenty communities in that area would do the same thing. We began to get inquiries, that have now come from every state in the Union and from a number of foreign countries. There is tremendous interest, not because we did it, but because communities all over the country want to do something and they want to find out what can best be done.

We have discovered that those small communities are going to find it very difficult to be complete communities. They still call on the outside centers for certain facilities and services which seem to be supplied better. It seems a logical development that the next step should be a study of a larger area—you can call it the small region.

If you find factions and friction and pulling and hauling in one community, it is simple as compared to what we're going to find when we take a number of communities and try to study them as a single larger community. But it seems to me it's a problem that must be faced, because many of the organizational units that now exist in these small communities were set up when transportation was very bad, when communication was bad, and when it was something of an event to get more than five or ten miles from home. They don't have sufficient tax rates to provide the equipment that they need or to provide the services that they need for a modern community.

A newspaper man of a great many years ago, by the name of Horace Greely, said, "Go west, young man," and I believe he said "and grow up with the country." I would like to say, to all people, young and old, who are looking for the new adventure, who want to be new pioneers, who want to make their contribution to a stable society, go not west, but go back home and go to work.

DISCOVERING AND RESPECTING THE COMMUNITY PERSONALITY*

by JOHN H. GIVEN

Bureau of Community Service, University of Kentucky

In his "Human Nature and Conduct" John Dewey points out how the moralists of some generations ago tried to suppress human nature, and to order humans to do this or that. He says we become acutely aware of what resists us, and as human nature resisted the notions of the moralists they became acutely aware of it and made certain condemnations. The same thing is true of the community, we suddenly become aware of it, as it resists us. It sometimes makes us irritated and angry, certainly puzzled, but we are aware of it because it doesn't behave in the fashion that we think it ought to behave. It suddenly becomes a queer animal that we can't quite understand, and before we can do anything about it we have to define it, we have to get to know it.

As we define it we discover that the community, like a person, has a

*Address at the Eighth Annual Conference on the Small Community, Yellow Springs, Ohio, July, 1951.

personality. It has form, structure, and content, and in addition, it is dynamic. It also has a life history, a tradition out of its experience, and most of all, it has a set of values of its own which pervade the whole community. As we discover this thing that resists us and we come to know and discover that it has a personality, then, perhaps in the easy way—or the hard way, by butting our heads against it—we learn that we have to respect the personality of this community just as we have to learn to respect the personality of an individual that we want to work with or share something with.

As we discover that the community has a personality, and as we do something to help it, we have to equip ourselves with tools, with not only the social scientific tools, but with every art and device that will lend insight into social situations. We have to grab the tool that fits best. Some of the most important tools you must acquire on your own in the process of growing up, because it is in that process of being and sharing and participating in the community as we mature, that we acquire the sorts of things that make us have sympathy for people, make us skillful in social situations, make us somewhat skillful in understanding another person's point of view and his needs and knowing how to meet those needs effectively.

Since we're interested in the community and we're thinking about the tools that will help in community work, I want to emphasize that it isn't the technical information that you might have that will assist a community most. It doesn't matter what the particular community problem happens to be, whether garbage disposal, traffic regulation, civic finances, budgeting; the problem is not so important, or the information you might have about budgeting and garbage disposal. What is important is your social scientific knowledge, your understanding of human nature and the community that will enable you to see such things as attitudes and social groups, so that you can understand the people who face these problems. Once you understand the people and help them to get set to face and approach their problem, then you can always get someone or some pamphlet that will tell you how many garbage cans you need on such and such a street.

OUR KENTUCKY EXPERIENCE

Now specifically I want to share with you some of the experiences we have had in Kentucky with community work, with helping communities to help themselves. We are in a very fortunate position in Kentucky of being swamped with communities that are aroused and want to do something about local problems. We're not at all faced with lethargic communities.

A few years back such was not the case. Kentucky was at the bottom of the list in many cultural aspects and social attitudes; we were the 49th state in a lot of things. Then a wide representative group of citizens, called the Committee for Kentucky, got together and conceived of an educational job

that had to be done. They felt that if people knew the facts they would react. So on a series of radio broadcasts, "Wake Up Kentucky," they literally took all of the facts and shook them in people's faces and rubbed their noses in them and pointed out that we were very impoverished in many of the essential things, as in education and health and they told how many thousands of Kentucky farms had no sanitary facilities, inside or out, and how many miles farmers had to haul water for themselves and their stock.

In the group that did that tremendous job of education there were some far-seeing people who had the sound philosophy that it's wrong to stir up an individual about his condition, and then leave him fumbling, often with no service which he can use to help himself. This group managed to get a grant of money from the General Education Board, which the University of Kentucky matched, to begin the Bureau of Community Service, of which I have been a part. Our job as we originally conceived it was to go to any community in the state where a group of responsible people asked for help about a community problem. To do this we had to first communicate.

The key to all our social living is communication, and in helping communities you're going to have to communicate with people and with the whole community. The key to successful communication is rapport. As with individuals, so with communities. In order to have rapport you have to have some understanding of the configuration of personality. In the case of Joe Smith you have to know something of his experience, his background, the values and judgments that he holds as an individual. Once you understand his position, then you can establish rapport with him and you can have this two-way line of communication. So it is with communities. We also have to know that these communities through the years have built up folk-ways, and ways of doing things that they value, that they have some feelings about, and we must not violate those. Each community has its own individual personality. I wish there was some way that communities wouldn't always impress us with their similarities so that we could always remember that they are distinctly different.

Another most important thing to do is to define to the community what business you're about. Especially you have to be able to prove that your interest and activity in the community will be beneficial to it, appreciably so. You have to be able to show the community that what you are asking them to do, what social energy you are asking them to expend, is going to bring some positive results.

Before we go into a community in Kentucky we try to find out what the social weather is. Public opinion, current items of interest, fluctuate from time to time. Today it might be the world series that's on everybody's tongue, and two weeks later it might be how the football team is doing, or the latest

in the real estate boom. You have to know whether the social weather is such that you have to carry an umbrella, or such that you can go without a coat. There are various ways of doing this. Reading through the community's newspapers is an obvious example.

The thing that we're most interested in is to get a picture of the value system in the community. We go first to the nominal leaders, the people who are ostensibly leaders, whether they are or not, because they happen to be the mayor, the superintendent of schools, the county judge, the public health officer, or the public health nurse. If we happen to get a good informant we'll stay several hours. We get as much information as we can, but particularly in terms of values and leaders. We ask who are the ten people in this town in whom folks have the most confidence? Would you name them for me? Then we specifically ask them for perhaps fifteen values like church attendance, living a Christian life, getting an education, making a success of business. If we can get them to, if they're intelligent enough or have time, we try to have them list values in rank order. If not, we ask them to indicate to us those that they think are the most important. When we talk about values, you see, we indirectly are asking about institutions, when we talk about religion, we are asking about the place the church has in the community. When we're talking about the importance of an education, then we're asking about the role of the school. And we ask about family life. When we are finished we get what we call a community profile.

Each community has its social profile, much as psychologists use the term social profile for the individual. In the profile of an individual his musical ability may be average, his ability in mechanical things may be high and his interest in something else may be low. So appears the cultural horizon in the community. You go to a community as you go to an individual—he already believes he knows what his shortcomings are; he already knows what he'd like to be doing. You don't have to force it out of him; all you have to do is sit down and talk with him.

Many of us have the false notion that individuals don't like to talk of themselves. Actually we are all, including you and me, avid to talk about ourselves. If we get in the right situation, with the right person, we just spill the beans. Actually the people in the community not only are flattered that you are sincerely interested in them, but they want to tell you all about their home town. So put it out of your head that it's difficult to get information.

Let me try to list what we find with this social profile: We know something of the history and the tradition. We know from the newspapers and our census what the population shifts have been, what the sex ratio is, and all of those things; we have a list of voluntary activities, from the ladies' bee that meets on Wednesday afternoon to the men's club that meets behind

the cigar store every Saturday night; we know the institutions; but most of all we know what the social values are. If you have a complete account of this community and you are an intelligent skilled person, theoretically you could enter the community and find a position where you would be at home and would be secure about what you were doing. That is actually what you must have, for you make these community studies in order to get information so that you can know where the strengths and weaknesses are, what the stresses and strains have been, what the people have in mind as to the way in which they would like to move.

What you want in the community is a concerted, collective action about something, and it doesn't matter what it is as long as it's something that the citizens have democratically seen together and want to do something about. Then you move on with them on the problem about which they are concerned, which they have decided is first on the list. We think, in our work in Kentucky, that the test of it all is that we're able to go back to the community after we've made our study and stand up in front of a representative group of citizens and tell them what we've found. A doctor doesn't do that, a psychiatrist doesn't do it, a social worker can't do it, but we do it. We stand up and indicate that we want to hold a mirror up to their community, and we do. If it makes sense to them then we know we've done our work well. But if it doesn't ring a bell, if it doesn't sound right, we look for error in our work. Thus far this has not been necessary.

In this report the thing that I think is the most important is to try to suggest, in terms of the personalities, resources and level of achievement of the communities, what the next step should be. You try to make your recommendations in terms of the total situation in the community, and usually, if you've done your work well and your sponsoring group is an active group, they'll see the validity of what you've said, and they'll look around among themselves and they'll get some *feeling of community*, which will enable them to move on to doing something. From that understanding, out of seeing you and hearing your report, comes a sense of community which enables them to go ahead.

Presumably you've gone out at the request of the community, you've done your job, you've made your findings, you've made your report, and the community has taken some kind of action or is in the process of doing something about itself. Can you then assume that their house is in order, that things are going to stay put, that you can forget that community? Of course not.

Alfred North Whitehead wrote that "in the past human life was lived in the ox cart, in the future it will be lived in an airplane, and the change of speed amounts to a difference in quality. The rate of progress is such that an individual human being of ordinary length of life will be called

upon to face novel situations which find no parallel in the past. The fixed person for the fixed duties, who in older societies was such a godsend, in the future will be a public danger." Change is the one thing that's true of our time.

We must do our work and make our contribution in the community so that the community shares this experience together with us, and its people will come to see the ongoing social process. They will come to see that in the fluidity of social life we can have as constants the values that have proved themselves in the test of time, and that the fact of social change is an opportunity for a re-expression of those values in a higher and better form.

PHYSICIAN AND COMMUNITY

It has taken quite some time for the medical profession to recognize in practice the fact that the human being is a psycho-physical unity. The development of psychology and psychoanalysis, however, forced the pace and slowly research results become public stressing the psychosomatic element in many illnesses. It has been asserted that as many as half of the patients in the doctor's office are ill from psychological causes. There are physical disturbances in which family circumstances have very clearly influenced the pathological process.

The wider community in which one lives or works leaves its marks too. The interrelationships in the society outside of the home are of the utmost importance for a harmonious psycho-physical unity in the individual personality. Fortunately more and more physicians are coming to this conclusion and trying to see their patients not as isolated "cases" but as members of closer and wider communities. This implies that the work of the doctor has to be directed toward the psycho-physical structure of the patient and at the same time toward the community in which the patient has his roots.

One of the most significant experiments in carrying out the wider implications of the medical profession is that of Regional Health, Inc., of Byron, N.Y., led by Dr. Nicholas Linderman. From one of his mimeographed reports we derive the following Associated Press news item:

A committee of experts appointed by the World Health Organization of the United Nations published some time ago a report on the narrow scope of medical practice and criticized sharply present medical and nursing education throughout the world.

The committee found "considerable modification of the education of the potential doctor is needed—to train a man capable of supervising the physical, social and mental well-being of the community within which he works."

The report declared: "There is at present much emphasis on physics and chemistry . . . too little attention is given to such subjects as psychology, anthropology and sociology."

"Nurses and doctors, since the aim is that they should work as a team, should have planned opportunities to study together the total care of the patient. Students should get to know the surroundings in which the patient lives and works . . . from the very first . . . the mind of the student must be turned toward disease as a community problem."

The report urged that doctors, nurses, social workers, public health experts and sanitary engineers should be trained in different sections of the same school, and be taught to work as a team. At present, the committee declared, the medical profession, hospitals, medical schools and teachers are working in isolation. "Confined within the narrow limits of the individual practice of curative medicine, too many practitioners are heedless of the public health experts and remain deaf to the voice of public opinion and of the authorities who are calling upon them to work more actively for the preservation of public health."

The experts said that hospitals should "cultivate both preventive and social medicine" and medical faculties should cooperate closely with sanitary services, social security organizations and the medical profession generally. They should "teach young people how to study, observe, think, pass judgment, how to approach marriage and the education of children and how to carry out their professional and civic duties."

"PROGRESS," "DEGENERATION," OR "TRANSITION"?

In *Education and Living*, Ralph Borsodi's magnum opus, we have detailed presentation of the human degeneracy which he considers to result from the stresses and abnormalities of modern life. He seems to believe that human potentialities are quite definitely determined in man's inherited make-up, and that the way to recovery of normal living is by control and decentralizing of life until through re-education and mastery of the environment a good conditioning and ■ good setting has been achieved for the relatively unchanging species, homo sapiens. The social units or communities which would emerge from this process would be very simple in structure, with each family largely supported by home agriculture and home crafts.

In *The American Way of Life*,* by Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi, a very different pattern is presented. Taking note of the vast technical changes of modern life, they see present-day difficulties as due chiefly to "cultural lag," the inability of social changes to keep up with these technical changes. Little doubt is expressed as to possibility and desirability of adapting human beings to conform to the vast centralizing trends of the times. We read:

"The concept of cultural lag, broadly conceived, remains the guiding principle of the social theory in this book. The authors have particularly stressed one aspect or phase of cultural lag—the fact that the simple, personal primary groups, which provided most social experience and shaped personality down to recent decades, have been undermined or swept away entirely." And again: "There have been vast movements and migrations of peoples, producing extensive racial contrasts and mixtures. Many political and economic problems involve several great racial stocks inhabiting different continents. The socializing experience gained in a small local society *offers little guidance for such relationships and adjustments. . . .* In dealing with these conflicts, *individual experience gained in the socializing processes of local groups provides little guidance.* [italics added] . . . Neither social action nor sociological description will have much relation to basic realities if it stems solely from life in, or study of, the simple, personal societies which dominated life down to a generation ago."

Persons who are concerned with the preservation of primary-group communities might reply that only as social opinion is adequately based on such direct first-hand experience with primary groups can it have sure validity. They might compare the judgment reflected in drafting the U.S. Constitution, which was largely a project of villagers, with that of present-day metropolitan statesmanship.

Both Barnes and Borsodi show a growing tendency to be tentative and qualified in their statements. This is a promising sign. The social changes now in process are without precedent, and the resulting course of events may be influenced by unsuspected new elements.

Before the days of the steamship the long voyage of migrants from Europe to America was a perilous experience. It has been stated that on the average as much as a third of those who left the old world for the new died on the way in crowded and disease-ridden sailing ships. Yet it would be a questionable assertion that those who remained in Europe were wiser or more normal than those who risked the trip to America. The migrants took their great risks to reach a new world and to have a larger chance at

**The American Way of Life: An Introduction to the Study of Contemporary Society*, by Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi (New York, Prentice-Hall, second edition, 1950, 931 pages, \$6.00).

life. The aspiration and courage that moved them to action were the traits of normal men.

It is not necessarily proof of the undesirableness of modern technological society that for a time it produces a larger proportion of criminals or mentally ill or overstressed persons. Transition to a new social world, with tremendous and unprecedented changes in ways of living, might naturally have such temporary results, even though the change should ultimately be desirable. Just as an adolescent boy or girl, in the transition from dependence on parental authority to mature self-direction, takes risks and makes mistakes, so will society take risks and make mistakes in adjusting to the new world.

A more penetrating analysis is needed in appraising the desirableness or undesirableness of a radical change in mode of living. To a considerable degree we can tell with reference to any element of living whether or not it is vital to human well-being. As to some physical conditions this is obvious. Good air to breathe is vital to human health. We cannot conceive of any change in social, economic or political organization which will make unnecessary an adequate supply of good air.

Various less obvious conditions may be no less vitally essential to wholesome living. Some of these conditions are physical and some are social or psychological. Among such we may list space and opportunity for children to live and move and play without constant prohibitions or suppressions; absence of undue stresses and strains characteristic of population masses; simple and small social groups where children can feel secure and at home; friendly, familiar and trustworthy associates for childhood; opportunity for children to see at first hand the processes by which men live, and opportunity to learn by sharing in those processes; and participation in a continuing social organism which is a carrier of precious but elusive cultural values.

Critical objective study of conditions essential to wholesome and normal living and to the preservation of the finest social values will, we believe; disclose that some conditions which have been characteristic of small community life are essential to wholesome living through generations, and essential to a healthy, self-sustaining local and world society.

Similarly it may be that some conditions commonly characteristic of urban living in a technological society may contribute greatly to full and wholesome living. Interest in community life should not rest on fear of pioneering and of the risks necessarily involved, but upon an effort to discover the best conditions for individual and social living. Competent and critical inquiry in that field, free from arbitrary precommitments in any direction, may result in types of communities and of social attitudes far superior to those which would result either from drifting with current trends or from an effort to reject modern life and to retreat to primitive social forms.

—ARTHUR E. MORGAN

CORRESPONDENCE

I was pleased to read the quotation from Miss Louie Bennett of Eire in the March-April *Community Service News*, stressing the importance of *freedom with responsibility* for industrial workers. I have long wished that union leaders in the United States would emphasize this need.

When I worked as a laboratory technician at a precision instrument manufacturing company, I came in contact with people at all levels, from stockroom clerks to the manager of engineering. Grumbings all along the line came to my ears. I saw stockroom clerks struggle with enigmatical part numbers which would have fallen into easy patterns if the clerks had known what instrument each part was used for. Machinists scoffed at the suggestion box that hung in the corner of their shop. "What's the use of putting anything in there? You only get a dollar and you never hear any more about it." Assembly-line workers had no incentive except the "bonus" for quantities produced above the quota. It was an unwritten rule that none of them would travel to any part of the plant outside their own room unless he were sent on a specific errand. Model makers and draftsmen, deeply hurt because they were "left out" of engineering conferences and were seldom consulted on the developmental problems of the models and completed instruments which they worked hard to draw and to make, took out their ill-will in pre-

dictions of imminent disintegration of "the system" and arguments about what panaceas could best replace the existing order of things. The manager of engineering and his cohorts walked sheepishly from the elevator to their rooms, full of fear lest some promising engineer replace one of them or lest the parent company, hundreds of miles away, disapprove of one of their decisions.

Of course the situation was not entirely black. In spite of the secrecy based on fear of competitors, spies, and one another, in spite of the fixity of organization which allowed for very little intercommunication among workers in different departments and almost no education about the entire process of manufacture, there peeped through occasionally a feeling of comradeship of people working, if not together, at least as parts of a whole that was intricate and wonderful. Even the most confirmed grumbler among the tool-makers could not conceal a burst of pride within his breast when he saw one of his company's instruments on display at a machinists' show. But how much, much greater could be this comradeship, the sense of belonging, and the effectiveness of these people if they had the opportunities to learn freely about the work of their company and to take part in its management! "The individual needs freedom to make a contribution to life, to fulfill a purpose in society."

—Gladys Lindes,
Yellow Springs, O.

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Community Service, Inc., is an organization to promote the interests of the community as a basic social institution, concerned with the economic, recreational, educational, cultural and spiritual development of its members. Community Service was incorporated in 1940 as a non-profit organization to supply information and service for small communities and their leaders, in the belief that the decay of the American community constitutes a crisis which calls for steady and creative effort. The nation-wide interest expressed during the succeeding years has reinforced this opinion.

Frank Tannenbaum, Professor of History at Columbia University, recently gave vigorous expression of his community philosophy in a news interview for the *New York Times*. The occasion of the interview was the recent publication of his book, *A Philosophy of Labor*. Dr. Tannenbaum regards the trade union movement as intimately related to men's need for community association. He is quoted as saying:

"The trade union movement was an unconscious rebellion against the isolation forced on man by the industrial revolution. The economics are incidental. The union re-created a society, a group to which a man could feel he really belonged. It filled a need, and that's why the union movement has never been destroyed."

"Might one ask how to refer to Dr. Tannenbaum's political philosophy? 'Politically,' Dr. Tannenbaum replied amicably, 'I'm a parochialist. As a matter of fact, the trade union is against all isms and has no isms of its own. It is simply a creative response to modern times. But modern times can't go on. We have bigger and bigger corporations, bigger and bigger unions, bigger and bigger states. Things get tighter and tighter and there is less and less responsibility for the individual.'

"And so the answer was parochialism? Dr. Tannenbaum nodded assent. 'I believe in a world where there is a great deal of power at the local level, at the bottom, at the community, like a pyramid. What we've done is reverse it: the power is on top, the weakness at the bottom. Russia is the best example of that. We must go back to communities.'

"Isn't that what people call 'turning back the wheels of history'? 'Let them,' Dr. Tannenbaum said polemically, 'let the other people have the slogans. Let them progress themselves off the face of the earth and then they'll have *infinite* progress.'"

The annual election of trustees of Community Service, Inc., was held in May, and resulted in the addition of the following to the board: Rev. Henderson Davis, Payne Theological Seminary, Wilberforce, O.; Clare Burt, Ontario Farm Radio Forum, Toronto; Robert A. Polson, professor of rural sociology, Cornell University; and Svend Petersen, educational director, Clinton County Farm Bureau, Wilmington, O.

Other board members are Joe J. Marx, president, So-Lo Marx Rubber Co., Loveland, O.; Irwin T. Sanders, head, sociology department, University of Kentucky; Ruth A. Morton, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.; Caroline McGregor, Yellow Springs; J. P. Schmidt, supervisor, community institutes, extension service, Ohio State University; Richard Eastman, Yellow Springs; Benjamin Katon, farmer, Yellow Springs; and Stanley Hamilton, executive secretary, Rural Life Assn., Richmond, Ind.